Political History Collection Interview H.0004.12 : Tape 12

Melvyn Goldstein, Editor

Center for Research on Tibet Department of Anthropology

and

Case Western Reserve University Cleveland, Ohio

©2004

Location of Interview: Cleveland, Ohio, USA

Date of Interview: April 1993 Language of Interview: Tibetan

Interviewed by: Melvyn Goldstein and J.T. Surkhang

Name: Alo Chöndze Gender: Male

Age: 74

Date of Birth: 1919

Abstract

Alo Chöndze was a major leader of the People's Association in Tibet and India in the 1950s. In this interview, he discusses a petition to Dekyilingka, the Indian Consulate, and the opposition of Tibetans towards the Chinese and the incidents where leaflets were thrown. He describes, in detail, his talk with The BodyguardRegiment Commander Phüntso Tashi, his arrest by the Tibetan government and also his escape to India. Additionally, he discusses his meeting with members of the inner circle before leaving and his meeting to celebrate the inauguration of the Buddha Jayanti. Finally, he describes the People's Association's petition to the U.N. and Phala.

Tape 12

A: It was 1957, after the Dalai Lama had returned to Tibet when I told Yuthok, "The three great monasteries are not to be blamed because they [the Kashag] didn't trust the three great monasteries. If they had trusted them, I would have stayed in Tibet. The reason for this was that the Kashag, on the next day, called me to give a guarantee for myself and they made me put my seal on this. So I [actually] didn't have any guarantor and I did not violate the guarantee by three great monasteries. I gave the document to the Kashag and they wanted me to put the seal [on] and also sign it. You can send this answer to them."

Q: Let's leave things here for tonight. In 1952, when the representative of the People's Association took a petition to Dekyilingka, the government caught them and put them in jail for 19 months. Do you recall this?

A: Yes, I think that was Kamekang Chöndze. He went to India and when he returned, he was arrested and was imprisoned. I don't recall what was written in the petition. Kamekang Chöndze didn't go to take the petition to Dekyilingka. Kamekang Chöndze went to India and he was caught on his way. Internally, he didn't go there for politics. He went with Gyabing Chöndze to do business and trading, but they had doubts about him and seized him on the road.

Q: In December 1955, there was a big demonstration against the Preparatory Committee for Tibet Autonomous Region and Zhang Guohua. Do you recall this? Was this your group?

A: No, it was not. But I can't absolutely say there was none from us. From the organization of the People's Association, there wasn't anything discussed at the meeting. Usually, when the Chinese held big meetings at the People's Square, like for National Day [Ch. shi yi] and Army Day [Ch. ba yi], where the Tibetan government kudraks and the Lhasa people were called to the meetings, on these occasions, such things happened many times.

Q: When the masses were called, did they oppose the Chinese?

A: Yes, when they held the ceremonies that I mentioned above, the Chinese, the kudrak and all the masses were called through giving notice to the landlords. So when several thousand people gathered there, some people shouted, "The Chinese should leave Tibet and Tibet belongs to the Tibetans." And other people shouted, "Yes, we agree with him." I also did [that] the first time and raised my hands when they held the first meeting. At that time, Dünjom [Tib. bdud 'joms] Rimpoche, who is now in Kalimpong, was in front of me. They told us from above, "Salute Mao Zedong," and some people did salute him by taking off their hats. The People's Association didn't make any plan to organize to do that.

Q: Why didn't you do that?

A: It was not necessary to do that. When the people were called to the meeting, they would do that. So we didn't need to advise them to do that, but there might have been representatives of the People's Association among those people. When they did that along with the other people, we would welcome them because this was beneficial for our political situation. This was called voluntarily done.

Q: Other than giving the petition to the Chinese, wouldn't it have been beneficial if you held demonstrations against the Chinese?

A: It was not a demonstration.

Q: I mean other than giving the petition, didn't you have any thoughts of holding any kind of posters or banners in front of the Chinese office?

A: Probably. We might have had that thought, but I don't remember that.

Q: It was written in some newspapers that in 1955 and '56, there were incidents of throwing leaflets [Tib. yig skyur]. Did your association throw these or was it other people?

A: This was probably about 1954-55. There were many small posters frequently pasted on walls, but the big one was thrown at the Mönlam on the 15th, as I explained yesterday.

Q: Did the Association have a plan to throw the leaflets?

A: No.

Q: Do you know who did that?

A: There were many other people throwing the leaflets. The reason the Association didn't do that was that since they were leaflets, nobody would know we did that. It is possible that the Chinese themselves threw them. We gave the petition to the Chinese face-to-face openly. This was more effective, and we also distributed the copies to the Kashag and the three great monasteries. At that time, I doubted that the Chinese themselves threw these leaflets at the Mönlam. Or since Gyalo Thondup and Shakabpa were running dogs of the Chinese, they might have made and sent them. The reason why I am saying this is because I was arrested just the next day. At that time, the bugdam edit was issued, but they couldn't handle us because Chushigandru was started. They thought that the Tibetan People's Association had risen up, so there was no other way [thing to do] but to arrest me and they threw the leaflets.

Later, when I spoke with Thubden Nyinji, I found that it was not written by the Chinese since they were staying in India and collaborating with the Chinese. This was like Sharpa Pasang coming to my house although he was a Chinese spy.

Q: Whose side was Gusung Depön [The Bodyguard Regiment Commander who was the Dalai Lama's brother-in-law] on?

A: They were the same. Gyalo Thondup and the Yabshi family from long ago, before the Chinese Communist Party came to Tibet, were on the side of the Guomindang and the Chinese Communist Party and they had learned Chinese. But at that time, we never thought of that. How could we even think about that since we were poor things, common people who didn't know politics? What we knew was that the Chinese Communist Party was bad and Tibet was independent. And our protector was Gyalo Thondup, who is the brother of the Dalai Lama, and he is good at English and living in India. I also used to play mahjong with Gusung Depön and we were friends. I thought these people were good. At that time, I didn't even dream that they were collaborating with the Chinese.

When we started the Lhasa People's Association, Phüntso Tashi tried to block us rather than helping us saying, "Stay still. It is useless to do this." [He] didn't say anything like go ahead, fight and jump. The biggest doubt that I had was after we arrived in Dharamsala, just after Surkhang and Yuthok were expelled. One day, I was drinking tea with Gusung Depön and I said, "Please work hard for Tibetan independence. I am an ordinary person. I don't have anything to do. Please do something with the Dalai Lama." He replied, "Your People's Association harmed us a lot (in Tibet). It was not at all well done." I got angry and said, "How did it cause harm? Tell me what was not well [done]. If it weren't for us, you and the Dalai Lama wouldn't be in India. This was all by the grace of us."

Before I left from Lhasa, I was prepared to leave, and all of the traders and Andrutsang had the best arms. The four regiments were united together with us and Gyagpön Kesang Dramdü was with us. I needed some guns for myself and the servants. If I was leaving the day after the next, that day, Phüntso Tashi came to see me. He knew I was leaving but didn't know which road I was planning to take. I told him, "I am going to India, so please lend me two guns and I will send them back from the border." He said, "I don't have any guns," and he didn't lend any to me. So I had doubts, but I couldn't say that he was a communist spy. I was not scared, but they were scared.

The Chinese were to come arrest me on the 19th and Phüntso Tashi and Namseling came on the 18th. Namseling told me, "I swear by the three jewels that this guy is still playing mahjong. Today the Kashag said we should arrest you." However, at that time, the Chinese were going to arrest me, but Surkhang convinced them to let the Tibetan government arrest me. So that was a good thing. If I was arrested by the Chinese, now even a bone would not be left. And the Kashag guaranteed that I would not escape.

Later, the soldiers told me that they were planning to arrest me on the 16th, but there were too many people around the house doing something, and they did the same on the 17th and 18th. It was also in chaos [Tib. zing]. Yes, that could be because I was doing construction [for his house]. On the 19th I was alone, so they arrested me.

The day we played mahjong I won the motorcycle of Phüntso Tashi. But the next day, early in morning, he sent someone to ask me to borrow the motorcycle. Actually, even now he owes me the motorcycle and I can charge him the price. He was probably afraid that the Chinese would know that I was riding his motorcycle and they would think that Gusung Depön had relations with Alo Chöndze. So I said okay and sent the motorcycle back. Now, I came to know that Gyalo Thondup and Phüntso Tashi had relations with Guomindang, and later with the Chinese Communist Party since 1947. Even at the time of the Reting War when Phüntso Wangyal was there.

Q: When you went to India, did you take documents with you, like a letter from Phala, et cetera?

A: The date of my departure was fixed. First, I sent several of my young tough men accompanying me (Tib. aptru) to the Bentsa [Tib. ban rtsa] ferry site, where there was an estate that belonged to Dombor. I told them to go first and I went in a coracle. At that time, the [person] in charge of the coracles was Kopön Nyerpa [Tib. ko dpon gnyer pa], who was a very nice person and one of the local representatives at the time of the March 10th uprising. So it would have been appreciated if he sent me a coracle, but he was the same as Namseling, who would leak out information. Therefore, if I would have told him to send a coracle, I thought he might have told other people about that. I sent Lhocha Ia [Tib. Iho phyag lags] to Lhoka to bring a coracle from Lhoka crossing the Tranggo Ia [Tib. 'phrang 'go] Pass. They told the boatman that they were going to bring a great doctor from Lhasa for an urgent manner. Then the coracle was kept on the bank near Dekyilingka and the boatmen thought a doctor was coming.

When my departure time was fixed, I got a letter from the Chinese saying, "The people who are approved by all the Tibetan people, Alo Chöndze, Bumtang Trunyi, Andru Gombo Tashi and others, should come to celebrate the inauguration of the Buddha Jayanti on such and such date. At this conference, the Dalai Lama, the Panchen Lama, and other lamas and kudrak will be present." I thought it would not be okay if I didn't go to this meeting and it would be dangerous. Then we held a meeting and discussed what to do, and it was asked if it would be good to leave before the meeting or after the meeting. Finally, it was said that it would be good to leave after the meeting. So I sent a messenger to tell my aptru (young toughs) to hold the horses and the mules at Dombor's estate, which was at the Bentsa ferry site.

Then the Chinese summoned all of us who were going to the meeting to Yabshi Taktse's house and said, "The meeting will be held in Shugtri Lingka," which at that time they called the People's Square, "on such date. We wanted to give you a meal, but there are too many of you so we are giving each of you 9 dayan as the food allowance." That was the first time I took Chinese money. There was a Chinese meeting for the Dalai Lama's leaving to India at Shugtri Lingka, and they even displayed the thankas and religious decorations [Tib. mchod rdzas]. The first meeting was on Friday. Then the second was on Saturday. Then the Chinese said, "The next day is the Sunday holiday, and the day after tomorrow a meeting will be held." So I thought that this was a good opportunity and called the representatives outside. We decided to go to for pilgrimage to the Jokhang that night and left for India on Sunday. There were many Chinese spies at the meeting, but they did not think that I would leave on Sunday.

So I sent friends on a motorcycle to my house to have my wife come with a butter lamp and meet me at the Tsuglagang. Jayan Dawa and Lhoja [Tib. Iho phyag], who brought Lukhangwa, were with me at the Tsuglagang. The next day I went by bicycle and went on a pilgrimage, and went home and I told my wife that I would leave tomorrow. I didn't tell my servants about my leaving. We prayed that if we couldn't meet [again] in this life, may we meet in our future lives, and I touched my forehead to my children's.

Before that, after I was released, I would regularly ride a bicycle and go for a circumambulation around the Barkor and around Norbulinga for about 10-20 days because the spies were watching me. So when I left, I rode a bicycle and went around the long prayer pole Jüyag Darchen [Tib. jus yag dar chen] and prayed. This prayer pole is regarded as auspicious because jüyag means good plan. I had sent someone to the Dekyilingka area to check if there were Chinese around and he reported no. So I went to the coracle which was kept by Lhojala and the boatman [said], "Now the doctor has come," and we left. I had a gun and good food with me. Actually, it takes two days to get to Bentsa, but I gave the boatman good food, tea and a good wage, and told him it was an urgent matter and the patient was about to die. Since my arrival was delayed for a few days, my aptru were worried and they were doing the mirror divination [Tib. pra phab]. I told my aptru to get the horses and the food prepared because as soon as I reached the Bentsa ferry site, I would go day and night to Bhutan. So my aptru was waiting there and I ate and then left on horseback. I reached the Bhutan border called Mela Kachung [?] in three days, and there were no communists there. I went via Phari and there was a Chinese office there and if they fired on us, we were ready to fire back.

I told them the story about a Chantrengpa who came to the Sikkim border near the bridge and was caught by the Chinese and beheaded. Then we crossed the pass that night and reached Bhutan and met the king. The king had left guns and horses for us. I spent 3-4 days with the king. I said, "Lukhangwa and Lobsang Tashi also want to flee to India [by] this route, so please help them." Then I reached the Indian border. The Tibetan Dedön Tshogpa sent Champa Tsündrü [Tib. byams pa brtson 'grus] and the interpreter Bagdrola [Tib. bag bro lags] to meet me.

Q: How did Champa Tsündrü know?

A: Later, regarding my departure, Phala and Gyalo Thondup had connections, and Phala told them that Alo Chöndze was coming.

Q: How did Phala know that?

A: He knew because by that critical point in time we had close relations with Phala. For about two years we kept the People's Association secret, but after that, Phala knew everything in detail. He knew about my going to India. After I was arrested, we sent Amdo Gyetong to India. Then after that, I spoke with and trusted Tseja Gyentsenla and Phala and told them all. Then the People's Association sent Jenkhentsisum a letter. They knew about this. I had my pass made at Jalpaiguri and they asked me many questions about coming from the Communists. But they trusted me and there was no problem. And then I went to Kalimpong. The Dedön Tshogpa came to receive me, and Shakabpa and all of them were there at the 8th and 9th mile.

Q: You arrived in Kalimpong. At this time, what was your goal?

- A: It was mainly complete Tibetan independence.
- Q: This was the general goal. But I mean what steps did you hope to take?
- **A:** There were two points when he sent Amdo Gyetong. One was to send the petition to the UN and the other was the petition for the Buddhist Conference.
- Q: Did you have any plan to buy guns?

A: No. None. Before I left Lhasa, we had a big meeting. This was the inner circle meeting. There was one document made in my home in which we took an oath. The people from the different places swore that in the future, whenever we had to meet, we should [do so] immediately. For example, if there was only Chantrengpa, he had to give notice to the other Chantrengpa. Whatever occurred, we would maintain unity and would be ready in each of our areas to rise up. But, this was not written in the documents that we sent through Amdo Gyetong. At that time, Andru Gombo Tashi was my substitute and he was given this document. The reason for going to India was, first, if we would do it through peaceful means, like petitioning the UN, the World Buddhist Association and the world countries, if this would work out, then our wishes would be fulfilled. If not, we would send the message, and on that day, we should fight. This was similar to Litang's plan about sending tea.

Q: The oath taking document was signed from the beginning, several years before, right?

A: This was not signed at that critical point [Tib. skabs mtshams]. This was done after the People's Association was dispersed and we decided to go out.

Q: How long had it been since you signed the document until you left for India?

A: Probably a month or 15-20 days. I don't recall well. It was not a real kind of pledge [Tib. gan rgya]. All the representatives just took the oath and agreed to it.

Q: In that document, were the names of the representatives written?

A: Yes. The names of the heads of each group were there, and we took the oath saying we swear by the three jewels. This document was given to Gombo Tashi and he would give the notices to the groups and discuss opposing [the Chinese].

Q: This must have been the Chushigandru's new groups' document, right?

A: This was not the start of Chushigandru. The documents of how the Chushigandru met are in the Private Office [of the Dalai Lama]. At that time, the Chushigandru had already started, but they had not done any movement. This oath was taken just before we left because we couldn't do anything in Tibet under the Chinese. It was decided that as soon as Andru Gombo Tashi sent the message, people should come at one time. Do you know how they came to Drigutang? It was because, in India, the peaceful means didn't work out. Furthermore, after me, a group of four representatives came to India, such as Uncle Gyadotsang, the representatives of the Baligyesum [Ba [Tib. 'ba'], Litang and Gyeltang [Tib. rgyal thang]. They all came as traders. So then Andrutsang led a meeting and they went to Lhoka saying, "You can even take a knife if you don't have guns," and there was a plan to have them all rise simultaneously.

Q: Before you left for India, did you ever hear that the Americans made relations with Jenkhentsisum?

A: No, I didn't. But my great hope was that the Americans would support us.

Q: Did Phala tell you that Americans were helping?

A: No, but our hope in Tibet was that the US would help us; we didn't hope for the Guomindang's help. Amdo Gyetong didn't know about the political situation because he was just a trader, but since the Guomindang and the Chinese Communist Party were opponents, he was the one who had great hope to make connections with the Guomindang. He was not to be blamed and he was sincere. We and Drönyerchemmo, in general, had hope toward the US [for US help].

Q: Did you ask Phala for instruction about US help?

A: No. If there was a connection, I wouldn't need to ask for instructions, and he would tell me about the US help. I was like his son.

Q: Didn't he say that to you?

A: Never, but there was hope for that.

Q: They sent the telegram and Champa Tsündrü came to receive you at the border. He probably talked about petitioning the UN.

A: He [Phala] knew 100 percent that it would be good to petition the UN, and we sent Jenkhentsisum a letter from jail and sent documents through Gyetong. All this was known by Phala. The letters to the UN and the Buddhist Association were made in jail. We three did it with several other representatives.

Q: How did Phala know all about this?

A: We told Phala and we talked to each other. The biggest hope we had for going to India was that the World Buddhist conference was going to be held. In addition to that was the petition to the UN. In the beginning, there was a plan for the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama to go this meeting.

Q: Did you show the letter for the UN to Phala before you sent it to India?

A: It was not discussed with Phala. At that time, I was in jail.

Q: Why didn't you discuss it with him?

A: Three of our the representatives of Kham and Ütsang, and some representatives from outside, had a meeting and wrote the letter and then sent it. Then we told Phala that we had sent it. At that time, I was interrogated jointly by the Chinese. People were saying that they might take me to China. So all of a sudden, we thought of sending the documents to India and we didn't ask them. The Sikkim prince had come to Tibet to invite the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama to come to India. This the Chinese didn't agree with. The Chinese said that the Tibetan people wouldn't want the Dalai Lama to go to India. So the plan was for Trijang Rinpoche to go as the Dalai Lama's representative. Phala told us about this through Tseja [Gyentsen Ia]. Then we said, "If they are saying this, we will take responsibility." The representative went to Dekyilingka to the Indian Consulate. At that time, the Indians liked us and were treating us well by giving parties, but we didn't talk about politics.

Q: Who were the people going there?

A: I have them here.

Q: Did they speak Tibetan?

A: We met Mr. Menan. Their translator was Tobgye [Tib. stobs rgyas]. We said, "You have invited the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama for the Buddha Jayanti, but the Chinese don't agree. They were saying the Tibetan people are against this. We, the Tibetan people, are in favor of this 100 percent. If the Dalai Lama was going to China, we would be 100 percent against it. So the Indian government must invite the Dalai Lama to India. If the Dalai Lama goes to India, Trijang Rimpoche will also go. The Chinese statements about this are lies. The Indian government says it wants to help Tibet, so in this vein, make it possible for the Dalai Lama to go to India. Please guarantee this now." Menan laughed but didn't answer, but seemed pleased. He gave us Indian food. So we worked to get the Dalai Lama to go to India. Alo Chöndze, Gyabing Chöndze, Amdo Lekshey, Litang Jamatsang, Dombor Chandzö, Champa Tsündrü, and Amchi Anenla, whose real name was Lobsang Yamphel [Tib. blo bzang yar 'phel], went.

Then we went from Siliguri to Kalimpong. The day after I arrived, I went to see Shakabpa. I told Shakabpa, "It is very good that I was able to come and it is wonderful that you are here. I am grateful to you. Through Amdo Gyetong, we sent the documents and the Buddhist Conference is about to start. Please send the UN petition at once." The petition to the UN was in Tibetan, not English. We sent it to Kalimpong so that they could translate it into English. I also asked him what the situation was then concerning the work for Tibet, and what we had to do.

Q: Did Shakabpa send the letter to the UN?

A: When we sent the letter through Amdo Gyetong, we asked him to translate it immediately into English and to absolutely send it to the UN. We told him to use the following names that were signed; Alo Chöndze, Bumtang Trunyi, Lhabju, et cetera. We were not afraid and we had fulfilled our wishes.

To get back, I was at Shakabpa's house. I asked him if he had sent the letter to the UN and he said he hadn't. He said, "It would harm the Dalai Lama's ability to come to the Buddhist Conference. But after the Dalai Lama comes to India for the conference, then it will be a good time to send it." I couldn't argue with that reply. I said, "If it might hurt the Dalai Lama's opportunity to come to India, then I agree to wait."

At that time, I mainly asked him, "You and Gyalo Thondup have been in India for a long time, since before the Chinese Communist Party came to Tibet. Although the Khenjung came later and the three tsidrung have come more recently, so I think you have done good work for the purpose of getting Tibetan independence. Phala has told us that you are doing good work. What is the situation now? What should be done? Haven't you petitioned the UN in the past?" Shakabpa said, "We have set up the Dedön Tshogpa and we are doing many works, but we cannot tell you that we have reached up to this work and I don't have anything to say about independence. We have to do things in sequence, in order. You and the People's Association have come here, now we should work together. You don't need to worry about this."

He didn't say anything about publicizing the Chinese suppression and the suffering in Tibet, or about contacting the countries about independence. So I felt a little strange and thought that he should have at least publicized what the Chinese Communist Party did in Tibet, and I asked him if there was anything coming out in the newspapers, like the Tibetan newspaper of Tharchin Babu, but he said no. On the first day, I went along and Jayan Dawa didn't go. The next day, I went again and said, "Please tell us about that [the works they had done]. We thought that although it is impossible to get independence right away, we might have to publicize the Tibetan issue around the world." Then he said we couldn't do that. Then I said, "First, I am going to make an announcement in the newspaper about the Chinese suppression, the suffering of the Tibetan people and about Tibetan independence." Gyalo Thondup wasn't with Shakabpa, but Khenjung was there. Khenjung said, "Oh yes, this is good. It will be good if we publicize this in the newspapers. Tomorrow we will call a reporter and you can give an interview." This was done in Shakabpa's house and this is the photo.

This was the third or the fourth day. After staying a few days in Kalimpong, I said I would like to meet Gyalo Thondup. I only was able to meet him after 10-15 or so days. Gyalo Thondup said, "It's good that you have come and we can exert more power to get independence." The three runaway tsidrung had already arrived in India before me. They were living in Yuthok Kuti. I stayed in Amchö [Tib. a mchod] Kuti's house. My former wife was living there so I stayed there. My second wife, the mother of this son, was in Lhasa, so I didn't do well with this.

Gyalo Thondup said, "The three tsidrung are in Yuthok, so you can either stay there or we can find a new place for you. And from tomorrow, we will give you a salary." I replied, "I don't need a new place. I also don't need a salary. I am now living in Amchö Kuti's house. The most important thing is to work for Tibetan independence. From tomorrow [on], where should I go to work?" I also asked Shakabpa, "Where does Sharpa Pasang live, as I have to meet him?" He replied, "He lives in a village near Kalimpong. He was the one who told me that Pandit Nehru called me." I said, "I also want to meet Nehru." At that time, I thought I would get the chance to talk to Nehru. Sharpa Pasang might have known that I was there and he might have done something. So I would find Sharpa Pasang and would bring him to Yuthok Kuti, so Shakabpa should come when I brought him there. We were going to discuss with the three tsidrung meeting Nehru, and Shakabpa should do the things like talking with the Indian government. And they said yes.

The next day, I sent my aptru to find Sharpa Pasang. I heard that he was staying in Kalimpong Village and I told my men to go there and catch him right away and bring him to Yuthok Kuti. "You should not lose him. This is your responsibility." Then they brought him back to Yuthok Kuti. And I told him, "Now I am here and I am going to see Pandit Nehru." He said, "You spoiled me and I am in a very difficult situation." I said, "What happened?" He said, "After I got there, I didn't have people to take your men and I also didn't have documents to send. And I also didn't get any answers to the questions. Therefore, after I got here, I got fired. So I am staying in the village and doing some trade." Then I asked him "Who sent you?" He said, "I was sent by a person in Lucknow." Then I called Shakabpa, the three tsidrung and the representatives, and we interrogated him. Finally, he said that he was sent by a leader of the Indian Communist Party in Lucknow. I asked him, "Did the Chinese send you?" He said, "No. I don't even know the Chinese, but I was to meet the Chinese there." I said, "We have to call the Kalimpong CID to Yuthok Kuti." Shakabpa went to talk with them and asked whether he was an Indian government spy [or not]. I heard that they were secretly told that he wasn't an Indian spy. So, I said, "We are going to keep him overnight, and cut off his hand and do a whipping interrogation." Shakabpa said, "You are not allowed to keep him overnight. You should hand him over to the court." So we took him to the police office.

Later, we heard that he was just shut in somewhere. About one month after that, the Dalai Lama came to India. I never learned what happened to Pasang and whether he was communist or not. After this, my doubts about Shakabpa increased some more because Shakabpa didn't tell me anything about this. So after 5-7 days in India, my suspicions of Shakabpa increased. He wasn't telling me the truth and wasn't telling me what they were doing. He also said, "Take it easy. Do things slowly, in order." He never told me what they were really doing. Gyalo Thondup answered me like Shakabpa, and it seems that Khenjung didn't know anything except something about money.

Q: At this time, were Litang Athar and his helpers in Kalimpong? When did they come?

A: After the Buddha Jayanti was over and the Dalai Lama returned, when I was in Kalimpong, Gyadotsang Uncle was the main one there.

Q: They were already there, right?

A: Yes, those were the real representatives. Litang Athar and Lotse, they weren't representatives. They were like our aptru.

Q: When you got there they had already arrived, right?

A: Gyadotsang Uncle and Baba Lekshey were there. This was the period when the Dalai Lama went back.

Q: During that time, did the Litang people come there?

A: The leaders, Athar and Lotse were also there. There was a Litangba who went for training and who was with me there. At this time, Shakabpa and Gyalo Thondup [were] on one side, and I had disagreements and I fought with Shakabpa during the Buddhist Jayanti. Gyalo Thondup wouldn't say one word about his connections with the US and Guomindang. Internally, he secretly told Baba Lekshey and Gyadotsang uncle to join him. He told them about the US connection. But, Gyadotsang uncle and Baba Lekshey mainly told me that the US was helping Tibet. So first we had to send five people to the US for training. They would drop weapons from planes into Tibet. So we discussed who to send for training. Those sent were: the Litangba who was with me, Athar, Lotse, Gyadotsang Wangdü, and Baba Lekshey's relative. They were mainly Litangba's. They didn't know where they were being sent or for what. It was said that, either way, it was a good thing and the US was doing that. I didn't know either.

Q: When did you hear this? After or before Dalai Lama left for Tibet?

A: This was at the time he went to Gangtok. They did this earlier, but I didn't know until later. Then the Litang people departed for training. Just after I arrived in India, when the Litang War started, Shakabpa and Khenjung probably had the talk that it was time, so we said that we had to send a message with someone saying, "There is no problem because the US will send arms and all the conditions will be complete. Therefore, the Litang people should not get scattered and do whatever to make it more elaborate." Actually, Gyalo Thondup and Shakabpa didn't have people to send. So we decided to send a Litangba called Jangu [Tib. ?] Tsültrim [Tib. tshul khrims]. He was rich and one of the representatives. He was sent to Lhasa.

Q: Who sent him?

A: We sent him.